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NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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1955—year of decision? It may be for the people of America, and the world.

A STATEMENT FOR DISCUSSION BY PROGRESSIVES

A call for independent political action

By John T. McManus

THIS IS A CALL—now, as we enter 1955—for a national independent political party on the ballot in the 1956 Presidential elections.

It must be a party of peace, jobs and rights. It must be anti-imperialist, understanding of and friendly to world socialism and itself prepared to consider socialist solutions for our own country's welfare.

It cannot await or expect mass break-aways from presently organized groups such as the labor movement or the Democratic Party for its impetus. It must be undertaken now—by those who believe in its inevitability—with the purpose of participating at every level of political argument in the 1956 campaign, and continuing thereafter until its objectives become those of a winning majority of the people.

CAUCUS CALL: We propose that preparations start now for an open caucus of all people and groups so minded, to be held no later than Labor Day week of 1955, at some place central in the country for the greatest convenience of all, with a view to starting the fight for independent ballot status in every state in the Union. No state, regardless of legal barriers, should be given up without a full effort. States where ballot access is no problem must contribute forces and funds where the fight is the hardest.

The arguments for this are compelling: without candidates in the field at all possible levels, access to the political argument of 1956 can and will be denied on radio, television and in the general public forum. If this access is not obtained, the political argument of 1956 will be conducted between two camps of reaction, and the American left-of-center will have been effectively and perhaps finally silenced in the fight against fascism and war.

Callan in Toronto Star
A STITCH IN TIME?

A PROVEN FAILURE: The proposition that anti-fascist forces can function effectively as non-ballot groups working within the two-party system has fallen flat in the four years since this stratagem has been employed.

- There is no mass peace movement in the U.S. despite all efforts at regrouping and new forms which have decimated the Progressive Party of 1948.
- Support of "liberals" for their apparent "anti-McCarthy" attitudes has not won a single commitment in the new Congress against the Smith and McCarran Acts. Instead, even efforts for amnesty for political victims and support for their families have now been declared "subversive" by a Brownell strengthened by the absence of even a scintilla of opposition in the Congress which must vote his appropriations.
- Dozens of Congressmen and several Senators and governors were elected in the last campaign without Left opposition and in most cases with uncritical Left support. Many, such as Harriman in New York, owe their victories directly and unmistakably to the anti-Republican swing of progressive voters; yet not a single voice of those so elected has been raised thus far against the re-Nazification of Germany and the proposal to arm it with atomic weapons—surely the ghastliest turn of events imaginable in the wake of the world victory over fascism of less than ten years ago.
- If the concept of peaceful co-existence is before the American people in any guise at all, it rests on the bi-partisan condition that any movement by people anywhere to control their own destinies is on its face "Soviet aggression," and provocation enough for military intervention including atomic attack. This was implicit in Adlai Stevenson's beguiling "negotiation" proposal of 1953; as it is in Adm. Radford's latest threats against the peoples of China and Korea. In our own hemisphere in the last two years intervention has been carried out against the peoples of British Guiana and Guatemala without a single voice of opposition in Congress or among the responsible leadership of the Democratic and Republican parties or the CIO or AFL.

SWEEPING IDEAS: Any concept of co-existence based on "containment" is a fake. The peoples of the world have taken tremendous strides in the past ten years—against colonialism and exploitation, toward self-determination and toward socialism. They will not be contained or set back.

Any enlightened view of peaceful co-existence, therefore, must be based on the comprehension that more acceptable ideas than capitalism are sweeping the world and in time coming our way—and must be met with full understanding. It is not conceivable that in a peaceful competition, exploitation will win out over economic equality. Hershel D. Meyer puts the proposition squarely in his recent book **The Last Illusion:**

"The world camp of socialism is offering shrinking world capitalism an orderly retreat—co-existence, peaceful competition, profitable trade relations, and the abolition of wars of aggression as an instrument of foreign policy."

BE PREPARED: Any less forthright view of peaceful co-existence lacks either integrity or full understanding of the course of the world. Hence a political party campaigning for peaceful co-existence must be prepared to understand the reality of socialism and further, not to rule out its application in confronting domestic economic problems as well as world relations.

Obviously this basic view cannot be presented to the public through the Democratic Party (and certainly not through the party of Dulles, Radford and Nixon) in the foreseeable future. Yet it must be presented and understood in the U.S. if the people of this country and the world are to have before them any workable alternative to the apocalypse of atomic ruin inherent in the policies of Dulles and Stevenson.

THE READERS SPEAK: The GUARDIAN has received many letters from readers all over the country on the future of progressive politics. Most of them are sharply critical of tendencies in the progressive movement toward realignment with the Democratic Party as presently constituted and directed; and critical as well of statements by progressive leadership apparently writing off the Progressive Party as a basis for third party revival for 1956.

We have not printed these letters,

although all have been carefully read and appreciated, because of our conviction that such controversy might generate more heat than light. Two of the letters we excerpt herewith, however, because of their programmatic proposals.

One comes from Minnesota, where the Farmer-Labor movement—which rose to majority position in the state, electing Governors Floyd Olson and Elmer Benson and sending Farmer-Labor candidates to Congress—eventually coalesced with the Democratic Party and now is part of the anti-labor, anti-farmer Humphrey machine. The Progressive Party came into being in Minnesota in 1948 but has run no candidates since 1952, when the late Marian Le Sueur ran for Senator on the Hallinan-Bass ticket.

THE ALTERNATIVES: The Minnesota letter argues ably that (1) the PP has nothing to gain by approaching the

(Continued on Page 5)

THE YEAR '55

Boom . . . and after?
Victor Perlo forecasts . . . . . . p. 6

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Kumar Goshal observes . . . . p. 9

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The jackboots

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Enclosed is part of a letter which I wrote to Secy. of State Dulles about his present rearming of Germany. It took me a few minutes. If all people would write a few words to some of our government officials, our wishes for a peaceful year in 1955 could be so in reality. Text of letter:

"I wish to register my disagreement with the present American attempt to rearm Germany.

"Just 10 years ago, on Christmas eve, the Germans launched an attack in Belgium. During the Battle of the Bulge my twin brother was killed. I spent that Christmas in the frozen woods of Belgium. I had a chance to see the Germans first hand. I saw their concentration camps and some of the survivors.

"The Germans had no principles nor morals. Then, we considered such acts of barbarism not human. How can we trust them again with arms and possibly with nuclear weapons?" **Bernard Saltzman**

Happy to have it

HOLLISTER, IDAHO

I regret that due to the low prices paid to us farmers for beef cattle, poultry and eggs these days, I do not feel able to contribute anything at this time but am very happy to renew my subscription.

Alfred J. Kiechers

The gangsters

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

I admire you for your courage in telling the present political rulers of the U.S. that they believe in force and violence. I never thought I would live to see so many anti-labor laws in this country. And, to top it off, they arrest people for thinking and believing in socialism. Why do most of the leaders of the trade union movement keep quiet? I am just a rank and filer in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, but I tell everyone I meet what the gangsters do to the people. Not only the Democratic and Republican parties are the cause of all the trouble; the phony labor leaders work both ends for the middle. That's why we have not a national labor party. **J. I.**

How crazy can you get dept.

(Sterilized semantics divn.)

DENVER—Mrs. Elsie Cora Allred won permission from Judge David Brofman yesterday to change her name to Allgood. She told the court her surname was "distasteful . . . and gradually becoming more so."

—N.Y. World-Telegram, Nov. 19.

•

PAYETTE, Ida. (UP) — The school song of the Payette high school has been expurgated of the word "comrade." The student body voted almost unanimously Friday to cleanse the alma mater song of the offending word after they agreed it had become part of Communist usage and was therefore unfit for use by patriotic American youths. As a substitute, "colleagues" was selected.

—Oregon Journal, Dec. 11.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Double-header winners: Lewis Thomas, Flushing, N. Y.; Georgia Ward, Portland, Ore.

What Jesus said

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Your very good paper is sometimes—too often lately—too narrow in its outlook. Too many little pieces only the "progressives" could understand. Jesus said to them: "It is not the healthy that need a physician, but the sick. I am here to summon sinners, not the righteous."

Anyway, happy New Year.

A Reader

Maeterlinck in Tennessee

JONESBORO, TENN.

Maeterlinck says about insects: "There is something about insects that does not seem to belong to the habits, the ethics, the psychology of our globe. One would be inclined to say that the insect comes from another planet, more monstrous, more energetic, more insane, more atrocious, more infernal than our own."

I wonder if those who are so anxious to use the H-bomb haven't caught up with the insects?

When I hear military men arguing the use of the newest mass murder weapons, I wonder desperately how long the people will go on following these "leaders" to destruction?

Have we no more intelligence than the troop of processionary caterpillars Maeterlinck once placed on the rim of a large stone vase? They followed their "leader" too, until the circuit was closed; and "during an atrocious week, amidst cold, hunger and unspeakable weariness, the unhappy troop went its tragic round, without rest, respite or mercy, pursued the pitiless circle until death overtook it."

In Carl Sandburg's **The People, Yes**, a little girl says, "Someday there will be a war; and nobody will go to it." **Marvin Moore**

National irritant

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.

Why is it unpatriotic to criticize our Government honestly? Every citizen has a right to be interested in what the Government is doing because capitalism accumulates unjustly. This monopolistic age has succeeded in irritating the American people. Moreover, the principle of legislation seems to be to protect anyone but the worker.

The Federal Government should control capitalism and create new conditions. Why in heaven's name should we, the people, get electric service, gas, telephone and transportation services from private utilities and pay dividends? The profit system is wrong and the cause of all our trouble.

George Simpson

He's relaxed anyway

NEW YORK, N. Y.

As an American citizen, I must thank Cedric Belfrage for his exertions on behalf of our common liberties. It must be a very great temptation to him to relax and be exported to a land where in many ways those liberties may be enjoyed with less effort.

George Dilkes

The Signalman's Journal, Illinois

"Most of our employes have joined the Union since we put up these confounded signs!"

Goethe the prophet

SYRACUSE, N. Y.

My own translation of a Goethe verse:

America, you are much better off
Than our poor continent.
You have no ruined castles,
No treasures to lament.
You are not troubled
In Life's pursuit
By useless remembrance
And fruitless disputes.
Use your present with bliss
And when your children compose
Then may good fate preserve them
From warrior, robber and mystery
prose.

Rainer F. Meyerowtiz

Speed that future

CHICAGO, ILL.

I wish I could say that I will bring about the release of every person who has been made a political prisoner and restore them to their children. It is what I would like to do and want to do. But this jailing of people for their beliefs and ideals continues every day; the courts of our land and the organs of government, are in the hands of people who believe in stifling all opposition by jailing people who hold different beliefs from those in power. There must be a change of power in our country, so the courts and other government organs cannot be used for the purpose of robbing people of their liberty and freedom.

Certainly our government and courts cannot continue to follow a policy of making political prisoners out of people for their beliefs and ideals without meeting with opposition from the people in the future. **John D. Reinke**

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BRONX, N. Y.

Anybody who doesn't read the NATIONAL GUARDIAN should see a psychiatrist. **L. Herman**

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"And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat."—ISAIAH 65: 21-22.

Go thou and do likewise

YOU CAN'T BREAK INTO your local paper these days. We hear that often—even as we open the morning mail and find clippings from GUARDIAN readers who have broken in. This week we are reproducing a splendid letter on the Belfrage Case by John Blawis which was printed in the Denver Post of Jan. 1, 1955. We suggest that you "do a Blawis" on your home-town paper today. The freedom-of-the-press issue involved here strikes dangerously close to home.

Deporting Belfrage

THE evil that men do lives after them. McCarthy is a dead duck, and will not disfigure the national scene very much longer. But the effects of his inquisition continue with us, not recognized, apparently, by professed opponents of the bad smell from Wisconsin.

A 13-line item in The Post, headed "Red's Deportation Set," says that the government has ordered the deportation of Cedric Belfrage, editor of the "National Guardian."

That is all; evidently in The Post's estimation, this wraps up and disposes of the matter. But if Belfrage is deported, it will be, in addition to a body blow at the freedom of the press in the United States, a signal personal victory for the Appleton anthropoid, and for the policy with which he is identified by name.

McCarthy rode much higher than at present, on the day in 1953, when Belfrage defied his inquisition one day, and the following day was picked up and confined in Ellis Island. It was clear then that many officials in the executive departments were jumping when Joe gave the orders. That much has perhaps been corrected by now. But where is the victory, when mccarthyism is carried on without McCarthy?

The Post, it seems, opposes not the principle, but only the man. Mccarthyism is OK, just so long as McCarthy is not now connected with it. Let Brownell do it.

I DEFINE mccarthyism as a pretended anti-Communism, on false grounds, the true object of which is not to oppose Communism at all, but to destroy by attrition the liberty of Americans, to force conformity on them and to make them the victims of despotism.

Thus defined, the nature and the aim of mccarthyism are seen to fit like a pair of jeans the government's case for the deportation of Belfrage. They hope to deport Belfrage, not because they know or care if he is or was a Communist, but because he edits a paper which opposes what it sees as the government's drive for world domination. The liberty to do this is dangerous, they fear—and you must begin trimming somewhere.

It will be ironic if, when the garbage collector named History has deposited Joe on the dump, his "ism" is permitted this particular success, in which he can so truly claim to have made the first move. **John Blawis.**

Lakewood.

•

And don't forget to send a copy of the letter to Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, Dept. of Justice, Washington, D. C.

THE ERA OF COLD WAR "COMPETITIVE CO-EXISTENCE" OPENS

U.S. capital looks abroad to maintain record profits

By Tabitha Petran

AFTER nearly ten years of localized wars and global-war preparations, the U.S. is entering what the **Wall St. Journal** (12/24) called "the 'competitive co-existence' phase of the cold war." John J. McCloy, Chase Natl. Bank chairman and leading Rockefeller spokesman, told the American Bankers Assn. Oct. 19 that we are

"... at the end of one era and the start of a new one, an era when we shall not be preparing for active war but [will] . . . keep up very heavy defense expenditures. . . ."

The cold war's new phase is marked by headlines about new efforts to increase trade and investment abroad; new Marshall Plans for industrially under-developed countries; economic competition with the socialist world. The real significance of this phase can be understood only against a balance sheet of the cold-war decade, drawn up from the viewpoint of the handful of "economic royalists" (as President Roosevelt called them) who today dominate the economy and government.

BURSTING COFFERS: To these economic royalists, private investment—at

Herblock in Washington Post
"He's carrying the crystal ball for a gain, folks."

home and abroad—is "the key to the nation's destiny"; and as Treasury Secy. Humphrey told the World Bank (9/28), it "is not made for philanthropic reasons [but] . . . for profit." World War II, with its then unprecedented profits, left U.S. economic royalists with an enormous accumulation of capital. Under the profit system their need was to invest—that is, use—it in such a way as to get themselves the highest possible profit. This need was a key factor behind the cold war.

The great bulk of their amassed capital was invested in the huge military-expansion program (launched by stages as public opinion was prepared for it)—which cost taxpayers roughly $200 billion over the cold-war decade. To economic royalists it assured not only record-breaking profits (doubled military spending after intervention in Korea, for example, sent corporate profits up 61% between 1949 and 1951), but also a rising rate of profit. By 1950 the profit rate averaged 29% for all manufacturing corporations; it was 16.2% in 1944, 4% in 1939.

IMPORTED GRAVY: Compared with this domestic investment, largely powered by the military program, overseas investment of about $1.5 billion annually was small: not much more than 1/10 of total investment. But the comparison is no measure of its importance, since overseas investment plays a unique role in securing a maximum profit rate for the biggest corporations. For example:

- A third of this direct investment 1946-53 was made by five U.S. oil companies (3 Rockefeller, 1 Mellon, 1 Rockefeller-Morgan-Chicago group). Profits on their operations abroad passed the billion-dollar mark in 1952, and today account for ⅓ of the U.S. oil industry's total earnings. In 1953 Standard Oil of N.J. made a 9.2% rate of profit on its U.S. operations; 26.3% on other Western Hemisphere, and 50.9% on Middle and Far East operations.

- Since 1949 direct overseas investment in mining has trailed only oil in volume, totaling some $2 billion by 1953—most of it made by a few giant metal corporations dominated by the Morgans and Rockefellers. In British Africa, where the U.S. investment is chiefly in mining, U.S. companies in 1952 made $20 million profit on a total investment of $66 million. This profit rate of almost 33⅓% is near the all-time peak domestic rate achieved for all corporations in 1950's 4th quarter.

- Overall, perhaps a dozen corporations account for ⅔ to ¾ of U.S. private direct investment overseas. A profit rate of, say, 36%—such as was obtained on U.S. capital in Indonesia in 1953—reveals the lure of investment abroad where cheap labor, raw materials and land make for a higher rate than at home.

WHO AIDED WHOM? The drive to earn profits of this magnitude lay behind the foreign aid program (economic and military) launched in 1946. It has cost taxpayers about $50 billion. Loans to Britain and France, the Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, NATO, etc.—all were designed, among other things, to open W. Europe and its dependencies to U.S. capital. In this aim the program was quite successful for the economic royalists.

Between 1946 and 1953 their direct investment in W. Europe more than doubled, while their profits almost tripled; in W. Europe's dependencies—mainly the Middle East and Africa—their investment increased three, profits four times. Altogether they increased U.S. direct investments abroad from $7 billion to $17 billion in 1953, and today to perhaps $18½ billion.

Yet the result was not all they would have liked. Their capital has penetrated to every corner of the free world, but its concentration in Latin America and Canada has been growing: more than ⅔ of the total is now located there. The **WSJ** (11/15) strongly complained about the "low rate of private investment abroad."

TAPERING OFF: A somewhat new situation today faces U.S. big business, shaped by two facts. First, the military program has expanded about as far as it can without risking military explosion or costs which some of the top financial groups are now unwilling to pay—at a time when the strength of the socialist world has imposed a military stalemate. Second, the opportunities for highly profitable investment in the U.S. for the huge amounts of capital amassed from cold-war profits are beginning to dry up.

The rate of profit is beginning to taper off. For all corporations it had, by 1954's 1st quarter, fallen from the 1950 peak back to not much above the 1944 level. One reason is that the 1950 top was achieved by the boom in war orders coupled with lack of controls, immediately following Korea, and could be created only by some big new war move. Another is the present stagnation of the consumer, as well as government, markets, which has held the production level down.

THE SHORT & THE LONG: For the biggest corporations the profit rate is now rising slightly; their huge recent investment in machinery has the short-term effect of raising it. But on a long-term basis this technological advance (in Nov. 1954 U.S. factories, for example, turned out the same amount of goods as in Nov. 1953 but with 850,000 fewer workers) is responsible for the profit rate's tendency to decline. (That is, profit is derived from living labor, so reduction in the amount of labor required to turn out any given product tends, other things being equal, to depress the rate of profit.)

Products are, moreover, selling at more and more above their value, owing to the universal prevalence of monopoly prices, and tax laws are being manipulated; so actual realized profits are going up. Big business is also intensifying the classic measures by which it tries to offset the profit rate's tendency to fall; speedup, and mergers and acquisitions to insure a firmer base for profitability. Mergers tend to make more capital available for investment or speculation. Drying-up of highly profitable investment opportunities in the U.S. is reflected also in the past year's wave of stock-market speculation.

THE FATAL CONTRADICTON: This situation carries the portent of economic crisis, sooner or later (see Perlo, p. 6). It also compels the economic royalists to look more and more to overseas investment to maintain their rate of profit. They have become accustomed to a very high rate in the post-war years; and in the nature of the economic laws under which they operate they will not compromise for the lower rate they could get, for example, from projects useful and needed by the nation.

Hence their increasing desire to invest abroad, but only on their terms—which guarantee them the highest profits. Hence, too, the overthrow of governments (Iran, Guatemala, E. Pakistan, Egypt) to make way for others more friendly to U.S. capital investment on the royalists' terms. Their large ambitions were indicated by **Business Week** (10/31/53): a five-fold increase in private direct investment abroad in the next 20 years.

On a short-term basis they might—by using such methods as in Iran and Guatemala—find bigger markets for their capital in this or that part of the world. But their intensifying need to export capital comes at a time when, overall, the difficulties in the way of doing so are increasing. In this basic contradiction lies one of the main reasons why U.S.—and with it W. European—capitalism can achieve no prolonged stabilization.

The post-war period of stabilization may be drawing to a close. This basic contradiction and its implications for Americans seeking an alternative to the cold war will be discussed in future articles.

Los Angeles Daily News
"Had another of those nightmarish weekends, Boss. . . . Lost my head again and squandered my whole week's earnings for groceries!"

1,500,000,000 hungry people

It is difficult to conceive what this extreme poverty, which grinds down the greater part of mankind, really means without observing it at first hand. Poverty inexorably condemns hundreds of millions in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Near and Middle East to hunger and compels them to live in filthy hovels. Endemic diseases fasten upon such easy prey. . . .

Hunger marches in the van of poverty—not merely occasional hunger due to some exceptional famine, but the daily endemic hunger experienced by more than 1,500 million human beings, more than two-thirds of the human race . . . The percentage of the world's population which is definitely undernourished has risen from 38.6% before the war to 59.5% today. . . . In certain of the least favored areas approximately five children in ten die before reaching adolescence. . . .

—From UN report on setting up a fund for developing backward countries, Aug., 1954.

Wall Street Journal
"How nice, Mr. Prescott! This month I can reach it without standing on a chair."

He should know

"The real danger that threatens the Western world is not a Russian invasion. The peril is of an economic and social nature. The question is whether we will follow a social policy capable of abolishing that condition of the masses which should already have been banished from our civilization."

—Former Premier Edouard Daladier in the French Assembly debate on rearming W. Germany, Dec. 23.

Anniversary record ready

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN's recording of its second annual dinner in New York is now ready for mailing. This year's record has an additional feature: highlights from the Guardian Angels Ball in Los Angeles.

It is a 33⅓ rpm LP recording with 45 minutes of the highlights of talks by the GUARDIAN's editor Cedric Belfrage, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Dr. Corliss Lamont, Ring Lardner Jr. (one of the Hollywood Ten) and Gloria Agrin (one of Belfrage's attorneys in his deportation case). You will also hear the GUARDIAN's West Coast representative Tiba Willner and music by Doretta Morrow and Ernie Lieberman.

It is, in our opinion, better than last year's and makes a fine focal point for an evening of GUARDIAN friends in your community or for your personal pleasure. It puts into focus some of the sharpest issues of our times.

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THE GUARDIAN'S EDITOR WRITES: "WHY THEY WANT TO DEPORT ME" — III

Deportation finding analyzed: Why was Frank Scully ignored?

By Cedric Belfrage

Possibly the feature of these days which will seem most humiliating to a later and saner generation is the impossibility of offering anything but an abject apology for the offense of having held left-wing opinions 10 or 20 years ago.

—Alan Simpson discussing the Robert Oppenheimer "case," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, December, 1954.

UN-ATOMICALLY-MINDED as I am, I accept the truth of Dr. Simpson's statement with these trifling amendments: deleting the words "anything but" and the "im" from "impossibility." Holding left-wing opinions 10 or 20 years ago—whether or not the opinions were expressed through membership in a left-wing party—is not an offense if the Constitution has any meaning. Yet it is for this, and nothing else, that I have been found worthy of the order of the Washington boot.

I was "tried" in proceedings which are themselves as illegal as the McCarran and Walter-McCarran laws under which one "guilty" must be deported. The laws, vetoed as unconstitutional by President Truman, are ex-post-facto laws making punishable today thoughts and acts that were wholly innocent at the time, and substituting the opinions of appointed officials for due process as to what is "subversive." The proceedings, conducted by paid employes of the party of the first part, permit the government to fire loaded, incriminatory questions at me for two hours as a form of blackmail to make me a witness against myself; to refuse to identify its witnesses in advance, so that we must cross-examine them "cold"; to introduce fragments, while withholding other parts, of relevant government data; and gaily to deny due process in a dozen other ways.

THIS IS OBSCENITY: If a later and saner generation is not to experience total humiliation, then our duty is to expose these illegalities insofar as this case will help expose them. Our overriding consideration in fighting my deportation is that it is not merely ridiculous, but obscene, to make an "offense" of committing a perfectly legal act, even supposing that I committed it. But as long as these illegal laws are on the books, we must fight the government's "case" against me—which stands self-exposed as a monumental sham—on its own terms.

Basic elements of the "case" were provided by William Kimple, a police spy in the Los Angeles Communist Party, who identified 1937-38 CP membership books of one "George Oakden" and a receipt for one of them signed in a British style of handwriting; and by George Mesnig, FBI handwriting expert who said the writing was mine.

Kimple claimed no knowledge of "Oakden" or of myelf. As for "Oakden's" British-style handwriting (there were at least several thousand Britons in the Los Angeles area in the Thirties), defense expert Elizabeth McCarthy pointed to so many differences between it and exhibits of my writing that she concluded "different people wrote them." Miss McCarthy has testified as an expert over two decades for scores of major government agencies, law firms and banks, and never before for the defense in a "communist" case; Mesnig's expertizing has been mainly for the FBI, entirely for government agencies "with one exception."

COMRADE BERKELEY: To testify directly about my activities 16-17 years ago, the government produced one Lars Skattebol, an AP rewrite man who speaks of seeing "Jews and/or Communists" on a picket-line but does "not know what a Fascist is"; and Martin Berkeley, a grade-B scenario writer now enjoying some limelight as a lecturer on the Red Menace for jingoistic clubs. A Communist from 1936 to 1943 or 1944, Berkeley was "named" by one Richard Collins in 1951; he at first "lied" repeatedly in denying his former comrade's charge, but later that year himself became an "informer" (an appellation he now says is "next to the Congressional Medal of Honor") on some 165 persons—not including myself as far as any public records show.

Berkeley said he had just two reasons for "knowing" I was a Communist in 1937-38. First, I was introduced to him as "a trustworthy person"— which he said meant the same thing as a Communist—by actor Lionel Stander; second, he attended at my home at 1925 Oakden Drive, Hollywood, a "closed party meeting"—some party official phoned and told him that was what it was—with "about 12 people present" including the Rev. Claude Williams.

Interlandi in Des Moines Register

". . . eleventh year of the Atomic Age —Whew—Didn't think we'd make it."

WRONG ADDRESS: The first testimony was exploded by the government itself, since Berkeley said the introduction occurred in the spring of 1937 and Kimple's membership card showed "Oakden" as first joining the CP in October of that year. On the second testimony, we naturally brought Claude Williams from Alabama to describe the actual affair that took place in my home when he visited Hollywood: a typical fund-raising party, open to anyone who might contribute to Williams' work in the South, and attended by 60-75 people.

Williams' memory was almost as poor as Berkeley's on other events of 1937-38, but he easily recalled the address of my home where the party was held since he corresponded with me there for months afterward concerning the biography I then wrote of him. That address was 7777 Firenze Avenue—and in Berkeley's testimony about the "Oakden Drive" house he said he visited, he was clearly describing the Firenze Avenue house.

But Berkeley "knew" it was on Oakden Drive; he also "knew" that I was "George Oakden." How did he "know" this? Because Communists "hid their identity" in writing for certain publications; he himself hid his, in New Masses, under the name "Martin Porter"; and once when he saw the "Oakden" name in a "party-controlled" Hollywood publication (of which I was listed as an editor), "remembering" that I lived on Oakden Drive he asked me if I was "Oakden." Berkeley testified that I said I was.

HE FORGOT TO REMEMBER: The "George Oakden" mystery deepened when the defense showed that the name appeared just once in this Hollywood publication—in 1940, when I had been living on Firenze for over two years; and when we produced a New Masses for October, 1937, containing an article "by George Oakden and Martin Porter"—and Berkeley disclaimed any knowledge of it, of being the "Martin Porter" in question, or of who this "Oakden" might be. Finally we produced a December, 1937, New Masses containing a featured article "by Cedric Belfrage."

So much for any "hiding of identity" on my part—but the question remained, and began to look as if it called for an ugly answer: Just how—and when—did Berkeley come to "know" anything at all about "Oakden?" His own testimony clearly indicated that the only home of mine he ever visited was on Firenze. Where—and when—did the idea of charging that I was "Oakden" originate —and who put it into whose head?

THE "UNFORTUNATE" PAPER: Berkeley's whole testimony fell apart to such an extent as to be embarrassing; and since Kimple's testimony had no direct link to me, and the handwriting testimony of the FBI expert was reduced to dubious gossamer by an expert of far superior standing, the hearing officer in writing his decision looked desperately for a *piece de resistance*—and found it in Skattebol.

Skattebol said that when he was 21, three weeks after I hired him to babysit and type a manuscript, I told him in the presence of no third party that I was a Communist. He portrayed me as a left-wing firebrand and himself as a mild Social Democrat type.

How did he come to testify against me, whom he had not seen for 16 years; what was his motive? Well, he had seen some GUARDIANS during the Korean War and my name on the masthead; he had nothing against me "as a person," only that I was the editor of "a paper I regard as unfortunate." He "knew me as a subversive character" 17 years ago but went to tell the FBI about me only when he saw my name in the GUARDIAN in 1951.

THE VANISHING WITNESS: Skattebol's testimony was of such a nature that no mortal man could "prove" its obvious falsity; so we produced Frank Scully—Catholic author-columnist, Hollywood Demcratic Party leader and former head of the California State Dept. of Institutions, with 27,000 mentally ill persons under his care—to tell whatever he could recall about Skattebol whom he knew better than I did in 1937-38. He testified that while "Belfrage's political attitude was British Labour Party," that of "Lars Scatterbrain" was "wild" and Scully was at that time concerned about his mental stability.

That Skattebol's "wildness"—to retain that modest word for it—has survived until now was clear from many aberrations in his testimony; but the hearing officer found a simple way out. In his anxiety to establish his employers' "case," his mind blacked out on the testimony of Scully whom even Skattebol does "not consider subversive." In the decision, Scully and his 31 pages of testimony are simply not mentioned, and Skattebol's story is described as "undamaged" by any other.

INDICIA OF WHAT? And so this "he-told-me" testimony of a witness whose mental stability was questioned by a widely known and respected citizen, becomes the clapper with which the government tolls the bell on your humble servant. Scully is ignored, as though he had never testified at all. And with the "undamaged" Skattebol testimony as an umbrella, the word of Berkeley—the self-confessed "liar" and "informer"—is accepted against that of Williams, who has suffered jail, beatings and prosecution for his principles but whose recollection of my address in 1938 is viewed with suspicion by the hearing officer as against Berkeley's breath-taking forgetfulness. Indeed, writes the hearing officer in his decision, "if indeed he (Berkeley) . . . forgot about it, this to me would be greater indicia of his truthfulness. . . ." (How much cozier can they make it for a government informer doing his "patriotic duty?")

In fact, the government itself exposed the essential fraud of the case, although only a corner of the curtain was lifted — by the hearing officer's gingerly treatment of it in his decision — on the "George Oakden" hoax perpetrated by Berkeley. A later and saner generation would surely conclude that Berkeley was rehearsed in the "Oakden" story. The government knew I lived on Oakden Drive in 1937 because I told them so when I applied in that year for citizenship, and they checked it in that year's Los Angeles phone book. They tripped over it because after 1937 my phone was unlisted, and it might have been assumed that I continued to live there.

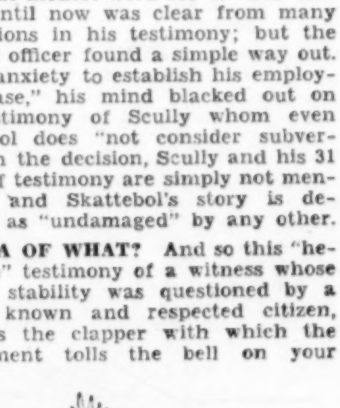
FRANK SCULLY

For the facts, no room

YES, SIR, JOE: In any case they had all this "evidence" in their possession since 1951, but left my subversive person in peaceful circulation until May 15, 1953. That was the morning after my appearance before McCarthy, when Joe publicly ordered the Immigration Service to start deportation proceedings, and the little Immigration man whom Joe had summoned to his court replied, in effect: "Y-y-yes, sir."

Did they fail to act for two years because they were afraid the "evidence" was too obviously fraudulent? Who conducted the rehearsals? Hasn't he done rather a poor job? Which part of the case of U. S. vs. "Belfrage, alias Oakden" will a later, saner generation find most humiliating?

(NEXT WEEK: The real "criminal"—the GUARDIAN.)



Drawing by Dyad, London

"GOING—GOING—GONE!"

SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION

by CEDRIC BELFRAGE

What Belfrage did in Germany to make him a target for McCarthy

"Excellent literature and history; human experience and suffering. . . . Belfrage's real 'crime' is editing our one radical newspaper." —*W.E.B. DuBOIS.*

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WASHINGTON

The 84th Congress on peace, labor and social laws

THE 84th CONGRESS will be controlled by Democrats, but the change of label will have little effect on the contents in the way of social legislation or progress toward peace. Not only is the margin of Democratic control slim—49 to 47 in the Senate, 232 to 203 in the House—but as **Labor**, the big paper of the railroad unions, points out:

"In both the Senate and House, the real control is in the hands of the reactionary kind of Southern Democrats. Any time even a few of them vote with GOP Tories, they can defeat a good measure or put through a bad bill for the people."

Although control changed hands, there was no great shake-up in the composition of Congress. Only 27 House seats were switched, with a net gain for Democrats of 21. In the Senate, seven seats were exchanged for a net Democratic gain of three.

"THE OLD COALITION": Labor, by one AFL union count, gained seven friends in the Senate while losing three; in the House there are 154 members with labor endorsement plus 29 who did not seek it but are considered as having been friendly in the past, for a total of 183. But this does not mean, warned the Signalmen's **Journal**, that

". . . labor and social legislation will have easy sledding. . . . The old coalition of reactionary Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans will have a high degree of control, with committee chairmanships in both Houses passing into the hands of conservative Democrats in a number of instances, and with Dixiecrat enemies of labor in a strategic position to do real damage to, if not completely block, legislation supported by labor and liberal forces."

The AFL Labor's League for Political Education has a slightly different set of figures; in the House it lists 176 members as pro-labor against 235 anti-labor. In the Senate the figure is 40 pro, 52 anti. Net gains for labor are set at 23 more friends in the House, four more in the Senate.

Federated Press

"Just remember our new year's resolution — Let's make the 84th Congress just like the 83rd."

Unions generally look for little help from the 84th. **Labor's Daily** summed it up:

"It is unlikely that the Administration will try very hard during the next two years to make good on President Eisenhower's new promise before the 1954 AFL convention to remove the union-busting license from the Taft-Hartley law. Nor is it likely that Congress will devote much time or attention to making the nation's labor law fairer."

STATE EFFORT STRESSED: For this reason both the AFL and CIO plan to concentrate much of their energies on state legislatures, 44 of which meet in 1955. Delegates to the recent CIO convention were told:

"Of enormous importance [now] is your state legislation, because the trend in Washington has been to refer to the states more and more responsibility for social welfare."

Top rating in the states will go to efforts to repeal anti-union "right to work" laws in the 17 states where they are on the books, head them off in six or more other states where they are proposed. Hope is all but abandoned for amending that part of the federal T-H law which makes such state laws possible. Efforts will also be made to improve unemployment compensation in the states, to get better state labor relations acts, to ban state court injunctions, to change state tax laws and to improve state minimum wage and workmen's compensation laws.

DIXIE APPEASED: Immediately after the elections, Democratic Party leaders headed by Adlai Stevenson, Sen. Hubert Humphrey and majority leader Sen. Lyndon Johnson, moved to appease the Dixiecrats at the sacrifice of any real fight for civil rights, civil liberties or labor legislation. This was followed by a complete agreement between Eisenhower and Congressional Democratic leaders for bi-partisan defense and foreign policies, which in turn was followed by agreement among Democrats that they won't fight the Administration too hard on domestic issues. The N.Y. **Times** reported Dec. 23:

"The Senate Democratic hierarchy will proceed only slowly and carefully in offering counter-proposals to the Eisenhower legislative program."

Of the 19 committees in the House, nine will be headed by southerners and four more by border-states men. Three chairmanships will be held by easterns, two by midwesterners, one by a Californian.

THE STRAIT-JACKET: Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va.), possibly the most reactionary man in Congress, will head the House Rules Committee, which now possesses life-and-death control over all legislation. The committee decides what bills the House will vote on, when it will vote, and under what conditions of debate the vote will be conducted; it can order a gag rule if it likes, and can prevent any bill from getting to the floor. The committee consists of eight Democrats, four Republicans. Smith will be backed by fellow-Dixiecrat William M. Colmer (Miss.); any time these two side with the four Republicans they can tie up any legislation.

The House Committee on Education & Labor will be headed by Graham A. Barden (N.C.), who is bitterly anti-labor; the Armed Services Committee by Carl Vinson (Ga.), who is for Universal Military Training.

No New Deal will come out of the 84th Congress.

Memo to readers

WE LOOK FORWARD to your comments on any or all of the special articles in this New Year issue of the GUARDIAN. You of the N.Y. American Labor Party, the Calif. Independent Progressive Party, the Progressive Party nationally and other groups of like purpose are invited to exchange views.

All bouquets are welcome and will be passed around happily as space permits. We urge that any brickbats be aimed directly at us, not at any of our friends or yours.

—THE EDITORS

SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION

by CEDRIC BELFRAGE

What Belfrage did in Germany to make him a target for McCarthy

"The impact of drama . . . the force of a documentary . . . the flow and sweep of a fine novel."—BARRIE STAVIS.

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A call for national independent political action

(Continued from page 1)

Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party (DFL); and (2) that any future independent party including the Progressive Party "must adopt a program which cannot subsequently be appropriated by the Republicans or Democrats."

The author suggests two courses: (1) advocacy of a new social order, with "elimination of private ownership of the means of production and application of science and technology for the betterment of human health"; or (2) "an extremely democratic farmers-and-workers party, without a radical program but simply with a limited program on which farmers and workers can now unite."

"STRAIGHT DRIVE": From California comes this call for "a new orientation":

"What is needed at this time above all else is a political movement that will make a straight drive for the loyalty and passionate devotion of the farmers and city workers and their business and professional neighbors.

"The approach has to be concrete and programmatic . . . the proposal of specific projects uncompromisingly devoted to the elimination of two surpluses on the American scene: the labor surplus and the farm products surplus."

FOR WORKERS & FARMERS: To labor, the program would propose:

"Re-establish and expand your collective bargaining rights. Use your enlarged powers to wrest from the owning and employing group a continuously increasing share of the wealth you produce. Fight for social spending: for education, for the protection of people's health, for a vast resource conservation program that will yield cheap power for city and country, re-fashion rivers and lakes, multiply recreation and wild life areas, irrigate the wastelands, clarify our streams, make of earth a safer and kindlier homeland for man. And take the money to do these things by legitimate taxes from the surpluses of the rich."

And to the farmer:

"Price supports, yes! But go further: The need for your products is here; create the market. Move over into the public schools: publicly operated cafeterias in every school, with milk, eggs, grain products to saturation. . . . Demand public credit to accomplish it. . . . Get acquainted with the old-time Populists! Defend family-size farms and open the way for more of them for the city's rejected workers, young and old. Join with the city worker in a vast conservation program. And get the money to do it from the surpluses of the rich.

"Such a new party will be inherently anti-imperialist and pro-civil liberties—it will have to defend its economic interests. . . . Let the liberals fuss around with puny chores: the great people's party that is coming has a real job to do."

WHO'LL DO THE JOB? Every group represented in the great Progressive mobilization of 1948, and many more not then represented, has a program of needs and improvement not now being advanced in the administration of our nation and its states, cities and municipalities. The make-up of each of these groups—youth, foreign-born and national origin, great minorities such as the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican peoples, farmers, wage-earners, teachers and professionals, small business and craftsmen, the aged and retired—cuts across other groupings such as organized labor or political parties. If entrenched labor and political leadership is to be brought face to face with the realities of our time, an independent people's coalition will have to do the job.

All the elements for this are at hand; only the imagination seems to be lacking. Can we stir this imagination again, as we only began to stir it in 1948? Can we this time resist the allure of lesser evilism and short-term expediency, and stay in the fight to the finish?

THE VISION: Perhaps the death-bed vision of one who fought unswervingly to the utter end, at the age of 77, may have meaning for all of us. It is told in a remarkable new book called **Looking Forward**, a selection of works in progress by some 27 authors, researchers, artists and others for International Publishers, 381 Fourth Av., New York 16, N.Y. ($2 cloth; $1.50 paper). The selection quoted here is from Meridel Le Sueur's contribution, "Inheritance," a chapter from the story of her father and mother and their lifetime in Socialist, Farmer-Labor and Progressive activities of the Northwest. Of her mother, Marian, who died in January, 1954, at 77, she writes:

"My mother had a vision in her death. . . .

"She was at a great conclave held in the prairies, and the plains rising to the rockies were covered with singers of every nationality, as the Indians always used to dream, the roads leading from north, east, south and west, the red, white, black and yellow peoples all meeting under the great sky tree of the plains. At this meeting under a great canopy the leaders stood.

"The speaker [name withheld, so as not to reveal one of the transcendent details of the vision—J.T.M.] was calling out the names of the people's fighters and they rose and came forward in a great light, from every country of the world. And as they came forward, singing was heard. Then he called out 'America' and the very hills sang and resounded and among the names called, of a great number, [he] called the names of 'Marian and Arthur Le Sueur, buried in the cornerstone of the future, the seed of our mighty land!' And she said 'It was a great day' as she died. She did not say if she meant the past, the present or the future but I am sure it was all a great day to her. . . .

"They left reluctant [Arthur LeSueur died several years before Marian, at 83] sensing great battles, eager to be in them."

The great battles remain to be fought; will progressive America take up the battles again, in 1955? The answer lies with you.

ECONOMY

Handwriting of 1929 is on the wall

By Victor Perlo

DR. EMERSON P. SCHMIDT, U.S. Chamber of Commerce economist, forecasts slightly higher production, stable high profits and prices, **more** unemployment, and lower farm income for 1955. These prophecies get the headlines.

But many businessmen predict no gain in production—a rise in the first half, then a decline, ending lower than 1954. If they are right, unemployment will rise fast in the second half.

The industrial production index fell from 137 in July, 1953, to 123 in February, 1954. It stayed there until August, then rose to 129 in November. It is now probably above 130. The decline was partly checked by the boom in Western Europe, which sustained U.S. exports.

TRICKLE AND TORRENT: But the main prop was a series of government measures. Popularly known as "trickle-down" schemes, they gave big business a lease on life by raising profits at the expense of the public, especially industrial labor. These were the main methods:

- TAX CUTS: Over $5 billion in large corporation and high income cuts, and billions in giveaways. All this led to higher dividends, freer spending by the properties, more corporate funds for automation and construction of runaway plants.
- EASY CREDIT: This encouraged stock market speculation and speculative building of houses to be sold on 30-year mortgages. The government guarantees the banker against default—but not the buyer against eviction if he loses his job and can't meet heavy monthly payments.
- ARMAMENTS: Between the first and third quarters of 1954 the military doubled the rate of contract-letting. Aircraft and other arms firms are now getting new orders in excess of current production. This is causing step-ups in procurement of materials and production schedules. Add to the picture (1) government promises of no cuts in next year's military spending; (2) bigger appropriations for new contracts; (3) price-support stockpiling of lead and zinc for "defense"; (4) $100 million stockpiling for the ailing machine tool industry.

THE GIANTS WIN: The decline—and the methods used to check it—led to lower profits for most small, medium and large firms, and the death through merger of thousands of these. It led to increased power and higher profits for the giants of industry. The National City Bank nine-month tabulation of 498 leading manufacturing corporations shows a 9% drop in sales, but a 4% rise in profits. Profits of General Motors, General Electric and Westinghouse rose 20% or more, aircraft firms 50%.

On the other side, farm income fell 6% in 1954, and a further 3-5% fall is predicted for 1955.

Labor was hit from all sides by big business in 1954 and the attack continues. The aim: higher profits through use of less and cheaper labor. The methods: (1) rapid automation of industry; (2) speeding up of workers under pressure of surrounding unemployment; (3) use of mergers to close down less efficient plants; (4) transfer of production—with government help—to low-wage, high-efficiency Southern plants.

THE BLACK DOTS: Here are some examples:

Fortune (10/54) estimated that productivity in industry rose at an annual rate of 9% during the first 9 months of 1954.

Industrial production in November, 1954, equalled November, 1953, but production worker employment was off 900,000, payrolls off 4½%, official unemployment up 1,200,000.

General Electric, in announcing its 11th Southern runaway shop (N.Y. **Times**, 12/18/54) predicted that in a few years it will employ in the Southeast 13,500 employes with a $30 million payroll. This is an average of $2,222 per employe, including the high salaried; it is less than half the average $4,731 earned by GE employes in 1953.

The Labor Dept.'s map is dotted with black throughout the industrial heart of the country, indicating areas of serious unemployment. In November, 1954, it classified 48 major and 97 minor areas as having "substantial" or "very substantial" labor surpluses, as compared with 18 major and 24 minor areas in 1953. Unemployment is not only more widespread, but it hurts more than in recent years. Real depression, 1930 style, is here for a million workers who exhausted their jobless insurance rights in 1954.

MILE A MINUTE: Thus the measures described above checked the production decline and started the rise. The auto industry is speeding the rise today and shaping the pattern for 1955. Ford, GM and Chrysler started early on 1955 models and have been turning them out as fast as possible—without regard to markets. Why? To win the race for priority and survival and to pile up cars before union contracts expire beginning June 1.

The auto race has carried steel production up from 65% of capacity to over 80%. By June three-fourths of the model year's market for cars will have been produced. Barring a new war boom, car output will fall sharply—strike or no strike—carrying down with it steel, coal, and other industries.

RED LIGHT: Danger signs for the longer-run:

- The decline in capital investment—the underlying foundation of heavy industrial activity. Business spending for plant and equipment fell 6% in 1954, much more in industry. Plans call for a further drop in 1955.
- The failure to liquidate excessive stocks of goods and to lower prices in 1954. Stocks of goods fell only 5% and have already started to rise. Monopoly prices are about where they were in 1953; some have been raised.
- Growing competition in world markets, especially from the Dulles-engineered revivals of Zaibatsu Japan and Krupp-I. G. Farben W. Germany.
- Mushrooming speculation. Stock market transactions have doubled and prices of industrial shares have passed 1929 peaks. They are still lower than in 1929, when account is taken of the devalued dollar and increased profits; but another year of rise at the 1954 pace will make Wall Street as vulnerable as in September, 1929. The mortgaged housing boom is still more menacing. Home mortgage debts have tripled since 1945. They increased during the third quarter of 1954 at a fantastic rate—equivalent to $14 billion per year.

MOST OF US ARE OLD ENOUGH TO RECALL THIS SCENE WITH SHUDDERS
A job-seekers' line in the Great Depression. It may be back unless sanity returns first

THE HARVEST: **Whereas in 1953-54 there was a drop in production but no financial crisis, conditions are ripening for another production drop with financial crash—in short, an all-around economic crisis (this might not be the decline in the second half of 1955).** The National City Bank **Monthly Letter** (12/54) warns of repeating the "New Era" experiences of 1900 and the 1920's when we

> ". . . suffered the consequences of uncontrolled over-optimism and excessive greed. Indulging grand hopes of perennial boom, we have placed an unbearably heavy mortgage on the future and then seen that mortgage foreclosed."

While issuing optimistic statements, the Administration is taking steps to try to delay a crash, at least until after the next elections. Whether it will use more credit and profit inflation gimmicks (with all their dangers) remains to be seen. Beyond that, it can turn to solid peaceful construction and trade encouragement, or try to salvage the situation with war.

THE RECORD: Eisenhower's $25 billion 10-year road building program is the first response to labor's demands for jobs through much-needed peaceful construction. But at best it will be a year before it gets started, and all the big "economy" guns will attempt to demolish it.

Besides, one swallow maketh not summer. This is the Administration that has scuttled low-cost Federal housing and FEPC; slashed farm price supports; curtailed flood control and public power; rejected Federal aid to education and health insurance, and tried to hold back the rising tide of East-West trade. And it talks of the "strategic" value of the roads!

GERMANY THE KEY: The dominant influences in Washington are still pressing hard for a warlike program economically as well as diplomatically. Witness the announced intention to maintain fully military spending and introduce universal military training—despite the acknowledged relaxation of tensions in 1954.

The big war-boom ace-in-the-hole for 1955-56 is the projected rearmament of West Germany. U.S. big business hopes to profit (1) by taking over foreign markets abandoned by German firms turning to arms production; (2) by selling coal, oil, copper, scrap iron to fuel the Ruhr's arms factories; (3) by selling billions of dollars' worth of new atomic weapons to W. Germany and other Atlantic Pact "partners."

Until they recognize the need to fight this menace, working people will not be able to win jobs through peaceful construction and trade, farm price supports or improved labor legislation. The consequences of German rearmament are great. This is the most important lesson we must learn in the shortest possible time.

The CIO's view

To set the country on the road to mass purchasing power and full employment the CIO's economic publication **Outlook** poses this program:

1) Gains in wages and working conditions and a guaranteed annual wage.
2) Taxes designed to strengthen consumer purchasing.
3) Two million new housing starts a year.
4) Improved social security.
5) A national health program.
6) Improved unemployment compensation.
7) An increase in the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour.
8) Improved agricultural support prices.
9) Government aid to small business.
10) Special assistance to chronically distressed areas.
11) Expanded government aid for public services.

Sleet

The principals in the main exhibition were Antonino Rocca . . . and Hans Schmidt, a horrid Nazi villain. . . . "In the beginning of his career Schmidt attracted attention by giving the Nazi salute, turning his back on the American flag, and sitting down during 'The Star-Spangled Banner,'" Mr. Mayer said. "Recently he has cut that stuff, because it no longer provokes sufficient animosity. There has been a change in the international climate."

From an article about wrestling in the U.S., by A. J. Liebling, New Yorker magazine, Nov. 13, 1954

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LABOR

One Federation in '55?

By Lawrence Emery

AT THE RECENT 16th constitutional convention of the CIO in Los Angeles many a delegate freely predicted it would be the last of its kind ever held: unity with the AFL was in the air. The next convention seemed likely to be a special one to ratify a merger of the two. For the first time since the CIO came into existence in 1936 the convention got a greeting from the AFL; pres. George Meany wired:

> I know you share our gratification over the successful operation of the no-raiding agreement between our two organizations. It has served to reduce strife in the labor movement and promote greater good will among affiliated unions which have become parties to it. . . . I sincerely believe that the time is now ripe for action toward [the] goal [of organic unity]. It is my earnest wish that we can have a meeting of the full Unity Committee as soon as possible following your convention. . . ."

ONE BIG UNION: The Unity Committee last met in Washington on Oct. 15 when it issued this statement:

> "It is the unanimous decision of this joint committee of the AFL and CIO to create a single trade union center in America through the process of merger, which will preserve the integrity of each affiliated national and international union."

Last week it announced that the joint committee will meet again in Washington on Jan. 4. Both sides were on record as hopeful that a full merger would be achieved before the end of 1955. Last October the AFL **News-Reporter** set that goal; during the CIO convention CIO leaders were reported as confident that it is

> ". . . entirely possible that a first draft of a merger formula will be ready for the AFL's executive council when it meets in Miami Beach in February."

NOBODY AGAINST: The CIO convention itself was unanimous in a standing vote for a merger "based on the principles of free democratic unionism." Some speakers stressed the problems to be overcome in such a merger and cited some of the obvious difficulties, but none spoke against it. CIO president Walter Reuther pledged that he would insist on four basic principles as a condition of unity:

- A strict no-raiding formula;
- The principle of industrial organization to be applied in unorganized fields;
- A strong anti-racketeering clause;
- Elimination of racial discrimination in all unions.

Joseph Curran, president of the Natl. Maritime Union, considered by some as opposed to a merger, took the floor to emphasize his support but added:

> "There are some dangers of demoralization. There are some dangers that there are some people who would like to see the CIO begin to disintegrate. . . . The CIO goes into these unity meetings as . . . a powerful, self-sustained labor organization . . . and is not begging its way anywhere."

NOT MUCH SPARKLE: But in the merger talks the AFL has the strongest bargaining power; its 10,000,000 members compare with some 4,000,000 for the CIO. Most delegates to the CIO yearned for the old fighting spirit of the Thirties which has long been lacking. The CIO has shown little, if any, growth in the past eight years. Said David J. McDonald of the Steelworkers:

> "When this [unity] comes into being, there will be another renaissance in labor as there was a renaissance in 1936 when the CIO came into being."

McDonald, most powerful and bitter rival to Reuther in the CIO, is the chief advocate of a swift merger. In the past he has used the threat of withdrawal of his big union to force action.

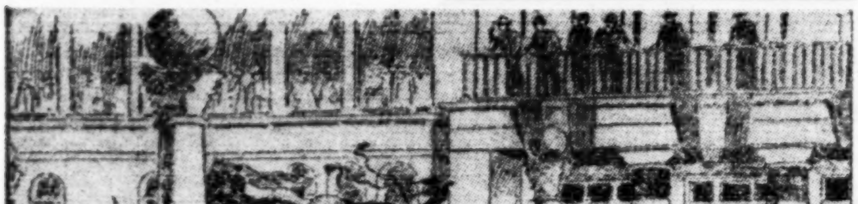
THE ROAD AHEAD: But even with AFL-CIO agreement on details, there will be difficulties in the way of final unity. Curran took pains to spell these out at the CIO convention:

> "The subcommittee must bring back their program to the executive committee, and the executive board of the CIO, and then, if that is acceptable, to a special convention which may be called by the CIO for further discussion by the representatives of CIO unions from all over the country. And even then the CIO has been, is and will be, a voluntary federation. It compels no organization to stay in it. . . . Even then with the program brought in, each union must decide for itself whether or not it will affiliate with that great unified organization. So there are many steps. There is quite a road to go in this unity situation."

God rest ye merry . . .

"Operation Snowball," a disaster test and a Christmas present of service to the towns of Fairfield County from their Civil Defense organizations, is being planned for [Christmas Eve]. Convoys of fire fighters, bulldozers, rescue teams, Red Cross units, radiological monitoring squads, mobile food canteens, military and police units are expected to arrive at an undisclosed "Aid Check Point."... Their purpose is to bring support to a bomb-stricken area. Twenty towns will be informed Friday evening . . . of the location of the bombed area and of the name of their emergency meeting place.

—Norwalk (Conn.) **Hour**, Dec. 15.



THE DRIVE FOR UNITY IS NOT A NEW THING

Print of a 19th century Labor Day parade in Chicago

A PICKET-LINE SCENE AT THE SQUARE D STRIKE

Politics was forgotten in the unity of the fight

THE MINERS' VIEW: A merged AFL and CIO will not unify the entire labor movement; there will still be independents like the United Mine Workers, the railroad brotherhoods, the unions expelled from the CIO in 1950 and others. The United Mine Workers **Journal** is caustic about the current talks:

> "We see by the papers that the chiefs of the AFL and the CIO are gathering for their umpteenth powwow on the subject of labor unity. The UMWA and other powerful unaffiliated unions as usual were not invited. The chief medicine men and smokers of the peace pipe will be George Meany and Walter Reuther. Both have said they will give up their jobs to foster unity. However, we have a few random thoughts on what the 'new look in American labor' might well be and thought 'Sliding Scale' Walter would like to be advised. Here are our predictions:
>
> "1. Mr. Meany will be full-time, paid president of the new 'House of Labor'; namely, the AFL.
>
> "2. Mr. Meany will be full-time paid chairman of a new department within the AFL to be called the Committee for Industrial Organization. This will be announced with great fanfare as the brainchild of Messrs. Meany and Reuther and will be referred to by the public as the CIO. (Seems to us we heard that name someplace before).
>
> "3. 'Sliding Scale' Walter will be full-time, paid president of the United Auto Workers—at least until the next UAW convention.
>
> "And that's all from us at this time!"

ANOTHER UNITY: But labor unity works on several levels. The recent Square D strike in Detroit showed that the spirit of the Thirties is not dead; when an attempt was made to break the strike by force, members of the UAW, the AFL and other unions poured onto the picket line to defend members of a union CIO had expelled—and won.

Orville Larson, intl. vice-president of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, also expelled from the CIO, wrote about this kind of unity in a recent issue of his union's paper:

> "The way some newspapers report it, you'd think all there is to this labor unity is for a few union big shots to pose for pictures, have a few drinks together, and then work out deals on who gets what jobs. That isn't what unity means to workers. Unity, to a worker, means getting together with other workers so as to be able to present a stronger front to the bosses. It means working and fighting together for a better deal—for higher wages and better conditions, for more effective political action, and for an end to Taft-Hartley and Brownell-Butler."

BOSSES, INC.: Pointing to the monopoly control in the non-ferrous metals industry, he writes that "workers . . . have to unite with all other workers in the industry to be able to counter the united strategy of the corporations":

> "This is the ABC of modern unionism. This also gives us an easy yardstick by which we can measure any proposal for labor unity. Our yardstick is simply this—will this or that proposal bring more or less workers together in joint action for their common interests?"

He points out that his union is dominant in the industry and sets the bargaining pattern every year, but that there are several thousand non-ferrous workers divided among isolated locals of some 20 international unions whose interests lie in bargaining together:

> "If Steelworkers [CIO] and Mine-Mill locals in Kennecott, for example, had bargained together for a common program we think that not only the Steelworkers' strike but possibly even Mine-Mill's shorter strike might have been avoided and the final settlement, for all Kennecott workers, could have been better. . . . To all [non-ferrous workers] we say—regardless of where you pay your dues or who your leaders may be, let's work together on getting a better deal for all the workers in this industry."

THE GOAL: Through this kind of unity Larson foresees achievement of the eventual goal of one union in the industry:

> "We don't insist that the only way for that to happen is by all other workers joining Mine-Mill. We do insist, though, that whatever way is followed, it be one in which all workers in the industry, without qualification, determine their own leadership, their own affiliation and their own policies."

Dollars for blood

As Iran's Shah and Queen were spending their days in a New York hospital, recovering from their nights spent in theaters and night clubs, the London **New Statesman's** editor wrote (12/11):

"I hope the protests sent recently to Teheran by Francois Mauriac, George Duhamel and other distinguished French liberals, will have some effect in curbing the reign of terror . . . the Shah and his Premier, Gen. Zahedi, are pursuing in Iran. About 10,000 people . . . are now in prison on political charges, including 700 army officers, of whom 21 have been executed . . . after secret trials. . . . Hussein Fatemi (former Foreign Minister) was executed for 'treason' by a firing squad. . . . According to current reports . . . Karimpur Shiraki, editor of a pro-Mossadegh newspaper . . . was murdered in his cell by having paraffin poured over his body and lit. . . . The evidence suggests that the purge has been extended . . . to all the progressive elements—intellectuals, trade union leaders, and students. . . .

"By a grim coincidence, each of the two instalments of dollar aid so far remitted to Iran was paid on the day following a batch of executions."

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LOS ANGELES: SUN., JAN. 30, 2 P.M. Hungarian Home, 1251 S. St. Andrews Pl. Dinner, $2.50. For res. write: Mr. John Uhrin, 1251 S. St. Andrews Pl., L. A. Guest Speaker: John Howard Lawson.

CHICAGO: SUN., FEB. 13, 2 p.m. Hungarian Hall, 1632 Milwaukee Av.

DETROIT: SAT., FEB. 19, 7 P.M. Petofi Club, 8124 Burdeno.

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the SPECTATOR

Tolstoy the hard way

IN SPITE of haughty claims to exceptionalism, the Snow Whites of the Seven Lively Arts—like the rest of us—have punched the 1955 time-clock. Already they are hunched over the assembly line at Cultural Products Unlimited, that gigantic plant where ideological chaos is stamped out, slapped together, packaged and fed to the waiting trucks.

As in cars and construction, 1955's first half (let's not disturb the veil of mystery economists have hung aroun the second) will witness a boom in the culture business. Records, TV, books, the theater, music will garner staggering grosses. Soft spots may appear, but pay no attention. People in the arts are notoriously superstitious.

N. Y. Herald Tribune

"Our budget doesn't balance for the same reason as the government's . . . defense spending."

TODD READS BOOK: In all colors and stepped-up stereophonic power, movies will push the M models (Mayhem, Murder, Musicals and Mad Russians, with Manliness and Manure for lovers of the outdoors) harder than ever. The trend continues toward production safaris to where better local co-operation is assured. Producer Mike Todd, for example, who comes to Tolstoy the hard way — via the girlie-show route—projects **War and Peace** featuring 70,000 soldiers supplied by the Yugoslav government.

The American spirit of competition characterizes the battle over this proposed epic: first to announce **War and Peace** was David O. Selznick, climaxing a 15-year quest for a book passing in gross tonnage his dearest obsession **Gone With the Wind.** Selznick was quoted recently:

> "I too have been contacted by the Yugoslav government. . . . Mike Todd is quite a showman, and I don't question his quaint boast that he's read the book."

THEY LOVE IT: In countries around the world reeling under the impact of American generosity—which includes movies as well as bomb-bases, bastards and horror comics—the outlook for local movie makers continues gray. In W. Germany producers would like to make their own pictures, please, but the free-enterprise spirit decrees a hike in the number of Hollywood confections they must import and play in their best houses. But according to the N.Y. **Times'** man in Bonn, German film critics agree that German producers lack the know-how, anyhow: they feel "most German films have no story to tell and nothing to say. With meager means, the German film industry tends to produce a routine product."

If a subsidized Adenauer can't get the people to weep over his stories, what chance has a poor movie producer suffocated by Hollywood imports? Besides, doesn't the ordinary foreigner love American movies? Returning slightly irritated from Europe last month, Arthur Loew, president of Loew's International, pointed out that complaints about violence and brutality in American movies

> ". . . originate at cocktail parties. It's the work of people commonly known as snobs. It's a popular pastime to rap something and American films seem to be the target. The man in the street finds nothing wrong with our pictures."

MAKE IT HUMAN: This can be squared with the general concession that movies are a continuation of politics by other means. Any day now the C. I. A. will prove that those "Dulles, Go Home" messages written on walls all over Europe are really the work of snobbish American tourists who couldn't get into the Folies Bergere.

What complicates the situation is that Dulles has come out in favor of sending films to the Soviet Union. This at a time when the All-Union Congress of Soviet Wrters is dedicating its first efforts to motion pictures which "speak for peace, the great friendship of nations, and the happiness of mankind."

Two hundred million people with roubles to spend on entertainment make a market with possibilities. Perhaps Orson Wells hadn't read Dulles' proposal when he said last week:

> "I would like to do a simple, human, undramatic film about the end of the world."

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UNITED NATIONS

China, colonial freedom, Bomb major topics on 1955 agenda

By Kumar Goshal

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

IN THE world prospects for 1955 as seen from here, from a perspective of the achievements of the ninth General Assembly ended last month, patches of light at top cold-war levels showed over a somber background: the Assembly's dismal record on the colonial issue. Opening on the hopeful note of the 60 nations' unanimous decision to set up an atoms-for-peace committee and reactivate the disarmament committee, the Assembly closed with the powers again bitterly divided on colonial freedom and UN membership for China. These issues—the latter now distorted by the issue of the jailed U.S. fliers, which Secy.-Gen. Hammarskjold is in Peking to discuss—seem destined to plague the Assembly in 1955.

Once again the Assembly shied from any concrete steps in favor of colonial Africans and Asians held "in trust" by Western powers. S. Africa continued to refuse to deal peaceably with race-discrimination problems involving Indians and Pakistanis as well as Africans; the Assembly passed a mild resolution asking it to "reconsider." The Asian-Arab bloc fought hard for the rights of S.W. Africa's Herrero tribe, now gobbled up by jimcrow S. Africa in defiance of previous UN and Intl. Court of Justice rulings. Herrero spokesman Rev. Michael Scott wandered again through the corridors like the conscience of UN; but the colonial powers forced through a resolution calling for yet another ruling by the Intl. Court.

"IT IS NOT EASY": While French Morocco and Tunisia seethed with discontent, the colonial powers again managed to get both questions tabled. As the U.S. eloquently urged members to trust France's promise of eventual self-government, Premier Mendes-France pledged the French Assembly "his government would oppose independence for Tunisia or other territories of French N. Africa" (N.Y. Times, 12/11).

Heated debates developed over the British colony Cyprus and the Netherlands' W. New Guinea. The colonial powers persuaded the Assembly to postpone discussion of a Greek resolution for a plebiscite in predominantly Greek Cyprus, where demonstrations for union with Greece were violently suppressed. Britain announced enlargement of its naval and air bases on the strategically-located island.

A resolution by Indonesia, which claims W. New Guinea as part of its territory, for negotiations about it with the Netherlands produced the unusual spectacle of the Assembly reversing its own Political Committee's decision approving the resolution. Intense Dutch lobbying to switch six abstaining or "yes" votes in the committee succeeded with tacit U.S. support. Australia, which rules E. New Guinea, bluntly supported continued Dutch rule over W. New Guinea on grounds of strategic necessity for S.E. Asia's "defense against communism." India's Krishna Menon retorted that such islands have too long been regarded "as blockhouses to guard trade routes." Commenting bitterly on this "reality of power politics in the world today," Indonesia's Dr. Tjondronegoro said:

"It is not easy to fight for freedom against colonialism, even in this august body. [The Assembly] may have stopped the resolution but it will not stop the cause of freedom of the people of W. Irian (New Guinea)."

SOME DECISIONS: During its closing days the Assembly also:

- Approved payment of $179,420 indemnity to 11 former American employes of UN;
- Left in abeyance any concrete solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict;
- Over strong opposition from the U.S. and other capitalist nations, approved setting up a committee to report on principles involved in creating an international fund to support "non-profit" construction projects in under-developed countries;
- Deplored the continued presence of Chiang Kai-shek's troops in Burma, recommended their disarmament and internment;
- Resolved to meet in San Francisco June 20-26 to commemorate UN's tenth anniversary in the city of its birth.

THE STEAMROLLER: At Montevideo, Uruguay, where the UN Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organization was simultaneously holding its annual conference, the U.S. forced through greater powers for UNESCO director Dr. Luther Evans. On Dec. 10—Human Rights Day in the UN calendar—Evans announced immediate suspension of David Leff and six other American employes in Paris who last July declined to answer U.S. loyalty board questions. (From Paris the "profoundly shocked" UNESCO staff assn. cabled a strong protest to Evans.) The U.S. also demanded and got a reduction in its own and an increase in the U.S.S.R.'s contribution to the UNESCO budget. NYT correspondent Edward A. Morrow reported (12/12) from Montevideo:

". . . Strong murmurs of discontent and muted charges of 'steamrollering tactics' as the U.S. point of view prevailed. . . . Some delegates argued that since contributions were based on national income the Western powers did not believe their own statements on the plight of Soviet economy. . . . The thinly veiled hints that the U.S. would consider withdrawing from UNESCO if its share of the budget were not reduced aroused resentment [and the feeling] that the U.S. was bluffing and the bluff should have been called."

GROWING URGENCY: Over the opposition of such Asian members as India and Burma and of the socialist nations, the Assembly approved a resolution empowering Hammarskjold to negotiate with Peking the release of the U.S. fliers jailed on spy charges. Replying to Hammarskjold's cable, Chinese Premier Chou En-lai invited him for a discussion, while insisting the issue was an internal one.

Underscoring the growing urgency of the colonial and China recognition issues, the Premiers of India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon meeting in Indonesia set plans for an April conference of 30 Asian and African nations representing over half the world's population. Invitations went to China (the inviting nations do not recognize Formosa) and to Afghanistan, Cambodia, the Central African Fedn., Egypt, Ethiopia, Gold Coast, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, N. and S. Vietnam and Yemen. Asked why S. Africa was not invited, Ceylon's Kotelawala said: "We can't go there, so why the hell should we invite them here?"

Noting the recent debates on colonial issues, the Premiers set these items on the agenda:

- "Social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented";
- "Problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism";
- Requesting "all concerned to bring about a cessation of . . . nuclear and thermonuclear explosions for experimental purposes, which threaten not only their countries but the world";
- Surveying "of physical resources, particularly of the mineral and subsoil wells of each country, [to facilitate] a planned approach [to] the economic development of [their] countries, which is so urgently necessary for the happiness of their peoples."

Greensboro (N.C.) Daily News

"You sure this'll keep the Reds in the dark?"

Lancaster, Daily Express, London

"I'll bet Mr. Nutting had to promise to take a lot of tickets for the Friends of Formosa party before Mr. Dulles agreed to help Eden's Cyprus Fund."

Redder than the rose — a San Antonio mystery

PORT ARTHUR, TEXAS

According to newspapers, Atty. Gen. Brownell's listing of a "San Antonio Guardian Club" as subversive has caused a lot of confusion in the Alamo City.

First, a lot of nice ladies who had never done anything further to the left than trying to grow a more beautiful red rose, bombarded a local radio station with protests of indignation. They thought the announcer had said "Garden Club."

Second, the San Antonio address listed as headquarters of the alleged subversive club proved to be occupied by a construction company official who said he had never heard of a GUARDIAN club—although he had lived at the address since early June of last year. So far, a bona fide Guardian Club has not been located in San Antonio.

As a GUARDIAN reader, I sincerely wish that the San Antonio Guardian Club—if there was one—had been more effective so that the San Antonio GUARDIAN boosters could have more richly deserved the honor of having had the live-wire GUARDIAN sub-producing club apparently credited to them by Brownell's mis-informers.

God help America if this "straining at a gnat" action by the Attorney General represents the best thinking of the present Republican administration.

The Republican administration learned nothing from the recent action of the Senate in censuring Senator McCarthy. It appears that Brownell is seeking to wrap the cloak of McCarthyism around himself and, as long as he is Attorney General, McCarthyism will not be dead in the U.S.

Guardian Reader

NEW YORK

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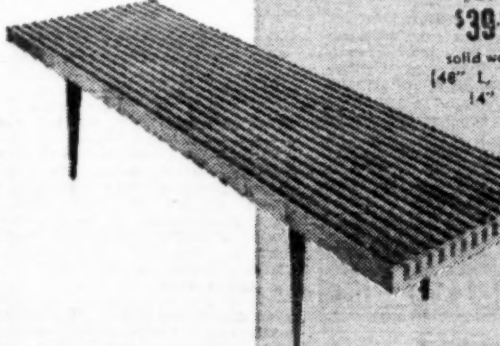

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Jan. 25: Dickens: "Hard Times" Lecturer: Mr. Murray Young
Feb. 1: Melville: "Moby Dick" Lecturer: Dr. Oscar Shaftel
Feb. 8: Tolstoy: "Anna Karenina" Lecturer: Mr. Murray Young
Feb. 15: Dreiser: "Sister Carrie" Lecturer: Dr. Oscar Shaftel
Feb. 22: Nexo: "Pelle the Conqueror"—Lecturer: Dr. Fred. Ewen

THE CONTEMPORARY ROLE OF PSYCHOTHERAPY
Lecturer: Mr. Francis H. Bartlett, noted psychotherapist
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Jan. 20: "Neurosis and the Neurotic Mode of Living"
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Feb. 3: "The Neurotic and His Struggle for 'Peace of Mind'"
Feb. 10: "Treatment of the Neurotic: Struggle for Change"
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CLUB CINEMA, 430 Sixth Av. (nr. 9th St.) Three psychological films, Jan. 7-9: **"OUT OF TRUE"**—a study of extraordinary merit of mental illness; **"PICTURE IN YOUR MIND"**—color film on the roots of prejudice; and **"SEARCH FOR HAPPINESS,"** on man's tendency to seek miraculous solutions. Showings: 8:30 and 10 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. **Next week: The Art of Joris Ivens.**

"CRISIS IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY." Lecturer: Irving Beinin. Fri., Jan. 14, 8:15 p.m., at 863 Broadway (nr. 17th St.) Cont. 35c. Auspices: American Socialist.

MARGRIT ADLER, editor German American, will speak on **"German Rearmament: War or Peace."** Thurs., Jan. 13, 8:30 p.m. Greenwich Village Club, ALP, 28 Greenwich Av. Adm. free.

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NEW YORK

Harriman offers his program; Dewey kicks schools as he goes

WHILE an estimated 500,000 persons made noise in Times Square during 1955's first minutes, a handful of people prayed all night for peace at the Broadway Temple-Washington Heights Methodist Church, 4111 Broadway.

Similar New Year vigils were held in Methodist churches in San Antonio, Ashland, Ky., Memphis, Washington, Minster City, Mass., Phoenix, Ariz., Holden, Mo., Springfield, Ore., and Chicago. Churches in other cities took up the vigil the next night in chain-letter fashion. Throughout the country churches were assigned dates so that not a day would go by in 1955 without prayers for peace. The Methodist Church planned programs on peace, disarmament and the UN to supplement the prayers.

EXECUTIVE SUITE: Aside from peace vigils the new year came in with the customary high-priced hoopla, a staggering traffic toll and considerable political jockeying. At midnight, Dec. 31, the lights in the Executive Mansion at Albany went out. When they went on again 30 seconds later Thomas E. Dewey was only a lawyer and Averell Harriman was governor of New York.

On hand for the swearing-in ceremony and supper were Democrats who reflected the new governor's national interests and aspirations. These included Margaret Truman, two FDR speech writers and advisers, playwright Robert Sherwood and Samuel Rosenman, Adlai Stevenson's press secy. William Blair, and former Secy. for Air Thomas K. Finletter.

Lesser Democrats thronged Albany and 1,200 of them were admitted to the Assembly chamber New Year's Day for the Inaugural.

BIG JIM AND THE GUV'NOR
Gov. and Mrs. Averell Harriman greet Democratic boss and former Postmaster General James A. Farley at a reception in the Executive Mansion following delivery of Harriman's Inaugural.

THE PROBLEMS: In it Gov. Harriman cited these problems: unemployment; the economic pinch on the farms; inadequate schooling; juvenile delinquency; "the continued prevalence of slums"; the fact that one out of every seven N.Y. families with a father still at work has an income under $2,000; the continued conflict between N.Y. City and Albany.

For solutions he resorted to the ritual phrases of most inaugurals. He promised a "bold, adventurous administration" that would not "reject the tried and true"; that would face up to the duty "to prepare the youth of today for the world of tomorrow."

Harriman appointed Kings County asst. district atty. Julius Helfand as chairman of the State Athletic Commission, and Angela Parisi, retiring chairman of the Democratic State Committee as chairman of the Workmen's Compensation Board. Miss Parisi, the second woman named by Harriman to high office, revealed a taste for political rough and tumble. Informed that her appointment did not have the approval of her assembly district leader, she said it was "because I supported Harriman for the nomination before and at the state convention. . . . As long as they're going to fight dirty, let's all fight dirty."

NEXT WEEK: An analysis of Gov. Harriman's message, and the legislative proposals of the American Labor Party.

SCHOOL JOB: Dewey was busy up to the last. He appointed a 21-member delegation to represent the state at the White House Conference on Education next fall; it was expected that choice would be left to Harriman. Teachers Union legislative representative Rose Russell noted that the Dewey choices did not include a single representative of the public school system nor a Negro—despite the fact that desegregation would be high on the conference's agenda. Parochial schools and private universities are represented.

Miss Russell said the delegation seemed "chosen for the express purpose of bringing the weight of N.Y. State to bear against federal aid to public education."

Dewey's last official act was to remove Harold G. Garno, sole state CIO representative on the Unemployment Insurance Advisory Council. (The state CIO went solidly Democratic.) With Garno also went Harold C. Hanover, secy.-treas. of the State Federation of Labor; but the federation will continue to be represented on the council. Dewey replaced the two with Herbert Brand of the AFL Intl. Seafarer's Union and Francis G. Barrett of AFL Typographical Union No. 6.

MIKE GOLD SPEAKS

First Guardian Forum on arms for Germany

THE FIRST Guardian Forum of the 1955 season will be held Jan. 28 on the hottest topic of the new year: "The Re-armament of Western Germany." It will be at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Av. (13th St.), at 8 p.m.

The speakers will be Cedric Belfrage, GUARDIAN editor, whose newest book **Seeds of Destruction** provides a dramatic backdrop for today's events in Germany; Tabitha Petran, GUARDIAN world affairs editor, whose appearance at last year's forums met with such success; and Mike Gold, the beloved writer, who is now a contributor to the GUARDIAN's Spectator column. Kumar Goshal, GUARDIAN associate editor, will be chairman.

The Guardian Forum's policy is to allow plenty of time and opportunity for questions from the floor; that's why the speakers are limited to two or three.

So for a lively, informative evening set aside Friday evening, Jan. 28. Admission is $1 at the door.

WHY ELECTRICITY COSTS SO MUCH

The power barons move in on Niagara

By Elmer Bendiner

NEW YORK STATE's "water barons" are about to move in on North America's greatest source of hydro-electric power, Niagara Falls. If a deal now in the works goes through, they will stand like toll-gate keepers on the power lines, using Niagara's gigantic energies while maintaining the present exorbitant cost of electricity to New Yorkers or even boosting it.

The give-away has been in the making for years. In 1953 the House passed the Miller Bill which would have yielded Niagara power directly to the state's five big utility companies. The vote was 182 Republicans and 80 Democrats for the give-away; 18 Republicans and 101 Democrats against it. Rep. Roosevelt Jr. and Sen. Lehman (both N.Y.) led the fight for Federal development of Niagara's power along TVA lines.

BEDTIME FOR JUNIOR: Thomas E. Dewey, then New York's governor, held out for state control, a device familiar to every veteran of the fight for public power. It would lead in the end, these veterans warned, to a quiet give-away at the state capitol, and the utility companies would take over as surely as if they were handed the platter directly from Washington.

When the bill reached the Senate last year Roosevelt Jr. and Lehman broke ranks and came out for state control, seeking only to modify Dewey's scheme by writing into the measure provisions giving "preference" to municipalities and co-operatives over private companies when the state sold the power facilities. Dewey commented at the time that Roosevelt was "attempting to crawl in bed with me."

Signing of the St. Lawrence Seaway pact in effect gave Dewey what he wanted, took the issue out of Congress and the public eye, made possible an Albany give-away of public property more scandalous than Dixon-Yates. Last March Dewey brought to Albany caustic, rough-riding Robert Moses and installed him as chairman of the state power authority.

ROBERT MOSES
A noisy handmaiden

"MAVERICK" MOSES: As parks commissioner and city construction co-ordinator, Moses has stormed in and out of committees, acting like a maverick but hewing to a line that has been generally well received by big real estate and big business. He had served Dewey well since the 1944 campaign when, in full-page ads in a war year, he wrote angry anti-Roosevelt diatribes.

When the Niagara deal was still before Congress, Moses warned the GOP: "No political party or administration will long survive in our state if, after the long struggle to keep what belongs to us, they yield to the pressure of misrepresentations of private power interests." He denounced the five state utility companies—Consolidated Edison, Central Hudson Gas & Electric, N.Y.S. Electric & Gas, Niagara Mohawk Power and Rochester Gas & Electric—and said: "The history of private exploitation of the Niagara frontier in N.Y. State is one of outrageous effrontery that was finally curbed by aroused public opinion."

Last November Moses quietly offered for sale $335 million worth of power authority bonds through a group of investment houses headed by Dillon, Read & Co. The prospectus issued to investors detailed the steal.

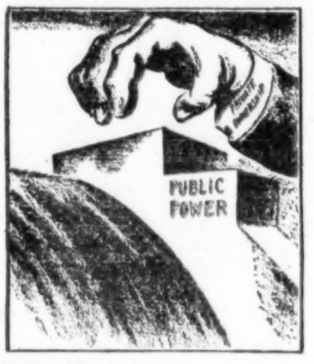
STRICTLY PRIVATE: The State Power Authority will develop two power projects as a start: a $300 million one at Massena, N.Y. (already under way) and another $350 million one along the Niagara River. The power is to be sold at the "bus-bar," a technical term for the source of the power.

Moses' predecessor as Power Authority chairman, John E. Burton, gave the show away when he said: "Bus-bar sales, physically and economically, can only be made to one company — Niagara-Mohawk." Transmission of this power to the consumer is to be made only over "existing lines." These are all privately owned, mainly by Niagara-Mohawk and the Aluminum Corp. of America. There will be no public power lines to give New Yorkers the benefit of the power at their doorstep or to serve as a yardstick by which private lines could be forced to lower rates. Moses envisions no TVA for New Yorkers.

Niagara-Mohawk and other private utility companies will have to extend their own facilities, passing on the costs to the municipalities to whom they will sell Niagara's power. In the end the utility bills for the house-owner, the small manufacturer will rise.

GOOD FOR EDISON: New York City seems unlikely to benefit at all from Niagara. Existing lines do not run down to the city. It will remain at the mercy of Con Edison which, with its much more expensive steam generating plants, maintains power rates at a peak.

ALCOA has a side deal under the Moses plan by which it may get its power at a heavy discount. ALCOA has a plant along the St. Lawrence, though the state has disputed its title claiming ALCOA is a "squatter." When dams raise the St. Lawrence level, ALCOA's plant will be unusable. As compensation it will get its share of Niagara power at perhaps ¼ the price other companies pay.



Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post Dispatch
HIGH VOLTAGE ISSUE

Niagara was almost forgotten in the campaign except for one brief flurry in the N.Y. Post which brought expressions of shock from candidate Harriman. After his election Harriman made no further objection and indicated he would keep Moses in office.

THE PUBLIC BE . . .: Moses has often indicated his impatience with statutes that get in his way. The Public Authorities Law is unmistakably in his way. It rules that ". . . in the development of hydro-electric power . . . the project shall be considered primarily as for the benefit of the people of the state as a whole . . . sale to and use by industry shall be a secondary purpose."

It also provides for public hearings on all proposed contracts on 30 days' notice, during which time the full text of the proposed contract shall be available to the public. (The scheme has so far been kept tightly under wraps, revealed only indirectly through Moses' prospectus to investors.) After the public hearing the authority must submit proposed contracts to the Governor who has 60 days to approve or disapprove it.

Last week Power Authority spokesmen told the GUARDIAN no hearings had yet been scheduled. Despite the law's plain language, it seemed New Yorkers would have to scream if they were to avoid going over the Falls in a barrel.

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We are very proud to announce that for the coming season our kitchen will be under the able direction of Al Moss (remember his apple pies?). He has many new surprises planned to improve our cuisine.
Don't delay your reservations for our next gala event. On the weekend of Jan. 29-30 we will celebrate the 1st birthday of the MRA, featuring a concert on Sat. night and a Latin-American fiesta and luncheon on Sunday. Only $6 for the weekend. Watch for further details.
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Guardian Forum

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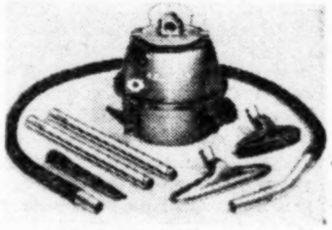

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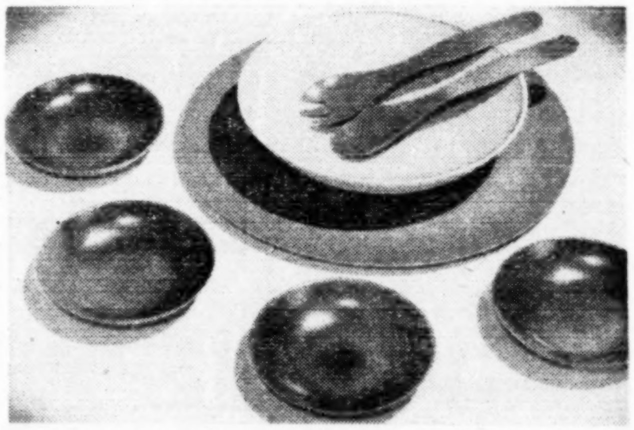

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DEATH SENTENCE UPHELD

Court splits 4-3 on verdict for 3 Puerto Rican youths

BY a 4-3 decision last week the N. Y. State Court of Appeals upheld the conviction of three Puerto Rican youths, sentenced to die for the murder of an 85-year-old woman. The sharply split decision left hope for either further appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court or for a commutation of sentence by Gov. Harriman.

If these steps fail, the state will execute Estrada Correa, 17; Henry Matthews, 17 and Pedro Antonio Rios, 22.

In the first week of their trial last March Puerto Rican nationalists shocked the nation by opening fire on Congressmen in the House of Representatives. Throughout the trial newspaper headlines told of mass roundups of Puerto Ricans, making unbiased judgment by the jury of 12 businessmen difficult if not impossible.

PRESSURES: Each defendant and many of the state's witnesses charged the police with third-degree methods. One defendant was held incommunicado 42 hours before arraignment, another eight hours without food. Many of the state's witnesses who told of personal confession by one or another defendant were plainly susceptible to police pressures.

The GUARDIAN pointed out loopholes in the state's story of the crime, committed in June, 1953. It traced the backgrounds of poverty of two of the three underprivileged New Yorkers. Estrada Correa spoke little English.

One key prosecution witness retracted his testimony on which the state relied, then when summoned before the court without counsel, retracted his retraction. All three were offered a chance to save themselves from the chair by pleading guilty to a lesser crime. But, although informed by their lawyers that they might face death, each maintained his innocence throughout the trial and the months since then in Sing Sing's death house.

TRIAL ERRORS: The jury included no Negro and no Puerto Rican. Last May a similar jury convicted a Mexican-American, Pete Hernandez, in Texas and the decision was overruled by the U. S. Supreme Court. Chief Justice Earl Warren, in writing the court's unanimous decision, said: "The exclusion of otherwise eligible persons from jury service solely because of their ancestry or national origin is discrimination prohibited by the 14th Amendment."

In addition to these points defense lawyers argued in their appeal that Judge Jonah J. Goldstein had committed a number of reversible errors, including one during his charge to the jury in which he said that if one defendant was found guilty the others had to be considered accomplices.

Though the Appeals Court handed down no written opinion, it was disclosed that the minority emphasized in its dissent the judge's charge. Last week defense lawyers were conferring on the next step. They can apply for a rehearing before the Appeals Court, ask the Governor to commute the sentence or to stay execution pending an appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court. The Appeals Court as yet has set no date of execution.

Throughout the city Puerto Rican organizations were mobilizing to rally public opinion behind an appeal to Gov. Harriman should all else fail.

"In Splendid Error"

"IN SPLENDID ERROR," William Branch's drama on the life of Frederick Douglass, reopened Jan. 4 for an additional four-week run at the Greenwich Mews Theater, 141 W. 13th St. Edward Hudson replaces Howard Wierum in the original cast, which stars William Marshall as Douglass.

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